/40 cont./

115 [648] Nakilí is nearly 90 years old. He has deep scars on his head from the Paraguay War, and he tells me how he then, that is, 1865, fought as a youth of about 20 against the Paraguayan soldiers. Now he is a vigorous old man of tall, slender build, with a full head of hair in which only a few strands of gray are to be seen, with a white mustache and even a chin beard, with good incisors in his lower jaw and some molars, with narrow, sunken eyes in his rather long, nobly formed, yellow-brown face, with a pleasantly cool, dry hand, with holiday-like new and clean, bright-colored shirt, trousers, and gigantic straw hat, with a slow, but youthfully erect gait. He is very modest, but not without a sensitive feeling of self-reliance; he is extremely polite, tactfully reserved, and quietly cordial. His mental alertness and, above all, his readiness to help were demonstrated by the fact that he tried to answer exhaustively my most peculiar questions in every direction from seven in the morning to five o'clock in the afternoon; to be sure, after a few days he gave me an explanation which could be translated with "my head is far away," and which was said to mean "I have a headache."

622 361 Every village has its chief. Before the Paraguay War there were eight villages. A high chief stood over all. His family

643 178 /Geschlecht/ has died out. "Would it not have been well to choose a new one?" I ask. -- "Yes," says Nalikí /sic/, "but no one ever thought of it."

595 ● 611 602 604 The Tereno live in monogamy. The children belong to the kin group /Verwandtschaft/ of the father. The maternal relatives (1) are not without importance, however, for often the

[601]

1. "My father's father," as well as "my mother's father," is called ootú; "my father's mother," as well as my mother's mother," ooté; "my father's brother," as well as "my mother's brother," lulú; "my father's sister," as well as "my mother's sister," õngó; "my father's brother's son," "my father's brother's daughter," "my

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3. Endogamy of the Moieties and of the Strata

The aboriginal Terena social system did not permit marriage outside of the immediate social stratum or moiety. A Naati, for example, could marry only with another Naati, and only if the other Naati belonged to the same moiety. Thus, if he were a Sukirikionó, he could marry only a Sukirikionó girl. This was also true among the Waheré-Txané, who represented the immediately inferior class. But, while these also were divided into two moieties, Xumonó and Sukirikionó, the Kauti —comprising the lowest stratum in the Terena system— present no such division. This stems from the fact that they belonged to tribal groups of different cultures and are here separated from the others by an *ethnic*, rather than a *social* line, as explained in Section 1. With both classes and moieties endogamous, there is no problem of a genealogical order, since the child naturally belongs in the group common to both parents (see Figure II). With the change that has come about in the Terena communities, however, marriages have been taking place between members of opposing moieties and strata. Under ths circumstances the children receibed the stratum and moiety of their father. This has been carried to the point at which the social group has become agamic and patrilinear inheritance has been institutionalized.

The persistence until the present of the moiety divisions in Terena society (although they are tending currently to disappear), can be attributed to their ceremonial functions; whereas the strata having no such formalized activity, whether solemn or sportive, have been forgotten by the individuals of the community, except by the very old people, and especially the Naati, as we shall see. Still, when a person was questioned about the stratum to which he belonged he would try to remember if his father was Naati or Waheré (we did not encounter descendants of the Kauti). This demonstrates the way in which descent had come to be reckoned in the paternal line except that in case of intertribal or interracial marriage in which the father was not a Terena, the offspring would follow the maternal line. This last occurred when the offspring maintained their residence in the village, and it became convenient for them to identify themselves, and be identified, as Terena.

If we take as our example the village of Cachoeirinha, which presents the least acculturated characteristics (R. C. Oliveira, 1958b : 2), we note that of a total of 208 couples, 78 (37.5 %) could not supply us with this information. With regard to stratum membership, the ratio would be even greater in the direction of those who did not know their own status. There are villages that present even higher ratios,

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which indicates the variation of intensity of the deculturative forces at work within the tribe.

It would be wrong, however, to conclude from this that the stratum system disappeared soonest as a regulative force in marriage. To the contrary, while the strata were rapidly forgotten by the people as a whole, they were not forgotten by the group which had an interest in

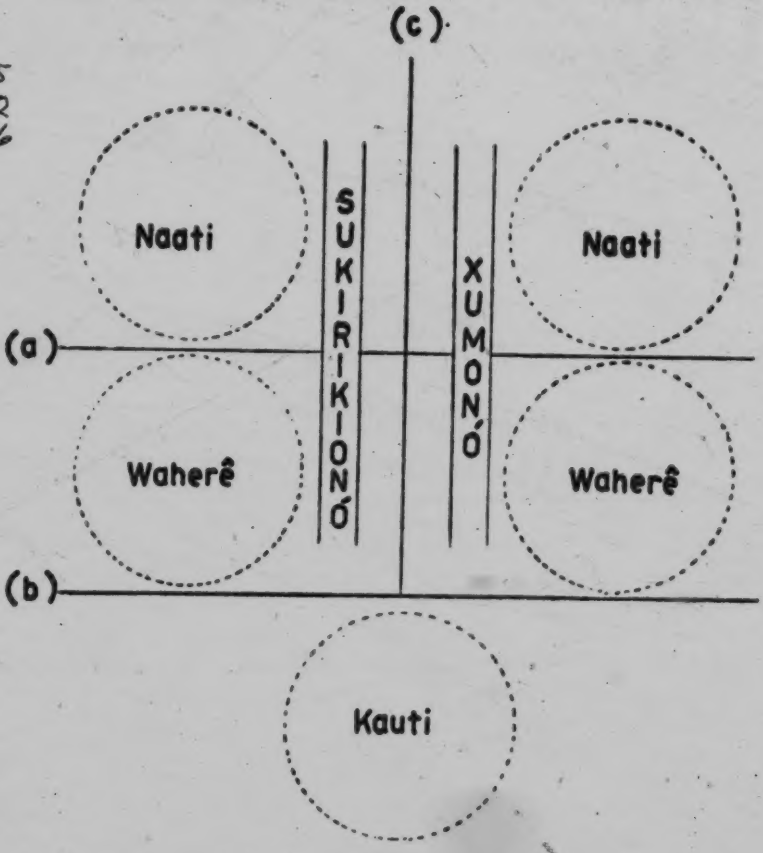

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Figure II

This diagram illustrates the segmentation of Terena social structure, resultant from the endogamy of the moieties and the strata: the dividing lines (a), (b), and (c) compartmentalize the social structure into five areas in which marriage is possible, as indicated by the dotted circles.

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in the structure that prevented a Kauti/Xuna-Xati from marrying a Naati-Seenó, this apparently was made difficult by the greater resistance of the Naati, as the in-group, to stratum exogamy. The very same mechanisms which made difficult—or for practical purposes prevented—the promotion of a Kauti/Xuna-Xati to the post of "War Chief", function here as well in maintaining the endogamy of the group. Terena society on the whole regarded as a sufficient concession the admission of the Kauti/Xuna-Xati and their sons as members of the tribe. They had thus formally broken the ethnic line which separated them. But even thus the noble families, the "Chiefs of the People", i. e., the Naati, were very reluctant to admit them as members of the in-group. This is attested to by the differential status accorded the "War Chiefs" and the "Chiefs of the People". The prestige of the latter was much greater than that of the former (Altenfelder Silva, 1949 : 319-320). The Naati normally accepted the Waheré/Xuna-Xati, however, as mates of their women.[11] The advantage for a Naati in becoming also a Xuna-Xati was that it made him eligible for possible selection as a "War Chief". He already possessed the indispensable prerequisite of birth for being selected "Chief of the People". We should note here that in each local Terena group there was a single "Chief of the People" and a single "War Chief".

With the dynamic which this vertical mobility gave to the threefold assymetrical structure, Terena society had to find a way of accommodating the children of the Xuna-Xati (whether they were Kauti or Waheré) in the total social structure, i. e., not just in the threefold structure, but also in the twofold symmetrical structure. Thus the marriage a Kauti/Xuna-Xati man with a Waheré Xumonó woman for example, resulted in sons that were Xuna-Xati/Xumonó and in daughters that were Waheré-Seenó/Xumonó. The sons followed the paternal line as far as the title of *killer* (or warrior) was concerned, and the maternal line in moiety membership; the daughters followed the maternal line in both stratum and moiety membership (cf. Figure IV, a). If we were to examine the position of descendants of the union of a Waheré/Xuna-Xati/Suririkionó man, for example, with a Naati-Seenó/Suririkionó woman, the sons would have the same social position as the father, and the daughters the same as the mother (cf. Figure IV, b). In the first case the relationship seems to be regulated by a principle of double descent; while in the second by bilinearity.

Terena kinship relations, with the exception of the Xuna-Xati, had

[11] If we admit the thesis of Levi-Strauss, by which marriage is an interchange of women (1949), then the Naati would be at a distinct disadvantage, since they gave women to the Waheré/Xuna-Xati and received none in return, having to find their wives in other local groups, as we will show below.

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565 554 611 851 been bilateral by the very fact of stratum and moiety endogamy. With the introduction of the Xuna-Xati institution it came to be alternately patrilineal and matrilineal, as shown in the above examples. Some aspects, however, are not too clear. One of these has to do with the extension of the Xuna-Xati standing not only to the true sons of Ego (masculine), but also to all those who were included withim the classificatory term Dje-á i. e., to male offspring, the masculine members of one's sibling group. The disappearance of the social structure here studied leaves this problem practically unsolvable.

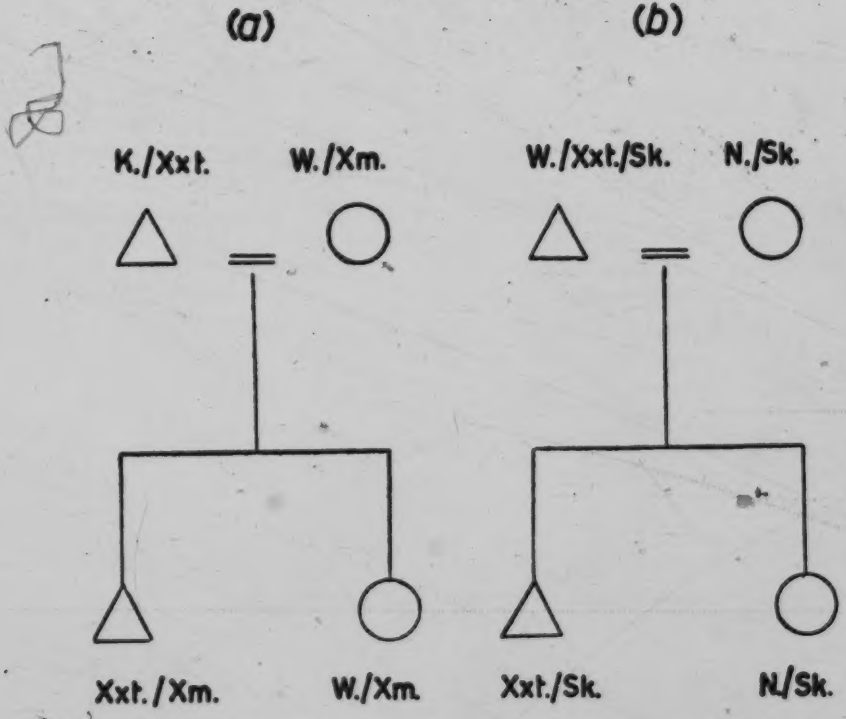

Figure IV

565 554 557 611 In summary, the existence of the Xuna-Xati as a mechanism for increasing both social position (either by enlarging the possibilities of marriage or by integration into the dominant tribal group), as well as political stature ("War Chief"), created a series of aspirations in aboriginal Terena society which were shared by all strata of the

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population. The status of *warrior hero* came to be a goal for all males, giving the Xuna-Xati an intensely integrative function in the lical groups, by means of the correspondences and adjustments in the roles of the warriors and in their acquired social rights. On the other hand, by also stimulating skill and bravery in combat, it helped physically to preserve Terena society.

5. The Kinship System

Except for minor differences which do not affect the structure, our analysis of the Terena kinship system corresponds with that recorded by oberg (1949) and Altenfelder Silva (1949). We will limit ourselves, therefore, to classifying it as of the "Hawaiian" type, following Murdock (1951 : 64), and to analyzing certain important relationships that have a bearing on the problems dealt with in this paper.

Examining the kinship system we find that consanguineous marriage was prohibited. Neither marriage among cousins, whether parallel or cross-cousins, nor between uncle/niece and nephew/aun was permitted (cf. Figure V). Sexual relations between children of father's and mother's brothers and sisters was considered incestuous, since all the children were treated as siblings. Thus Terena society, by laying emphasis on the solidarity of a group of brothers and sisters in a fashion that accords well with the principle of the unity of the sibling group (Radcliffe-Brown, 1952 : 64-67), reduced even more the permitted area for matrimony, already greatly reduced by stratum and moiety endogamy. A marriage that seemingly would be permitted or perhaps even preferred, between children of siblings of the opposite sex of Ego, i. e., those persons classified as Nevongé, is actually impossible because of the Terena emphasis on the solidarity of the sibling group. Wheter or not such a marriage was once permitted as the kinship terminology seems to imply, cannot be conclusively answered on the basis of the evidence in hand. Present day Terena deny it categorically. And not even tribal mythology presents us with a clue, as it does in the case of marriage between in-laws.

Among affinal relations, the preferred marriage seems to have been with the spouse of a dead brother or sister, i. e., sororate and levirate marriage. Along with these forms there also existed simple and sororal polygyny although these were not necessarily preferred forms. To a certain extent these exist down to the present, although they are now resisted by the community, as was notably one case of sororal polygyny in Cachoerinha.[12] As to sororate and levirate marriage, we found

[12] Today this type of barriage is very rare. We heard of only this case and one other in the village of Brejão. In both cases the husbands and their wives